

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I would inculcate one truth with peculiar earnestness; namely, that a REVOLUTION is not the necessary consequence of a NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY."—Pursuits of Literature.

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PAPER AGAINST GOLD:

BEING AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

Report of the Bullion Committee:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE

TRADESMEN AND FARMERS

IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

LETTER V.

Digression respecting the use of bank-notes as a political support to the government—Mr. Addington's notion of convincing Buonaparté by the means of a tax—Answer of the Moniteur—Advice given to Mr. Addington in the Register in 1803—Passage quoted from a government news-paper describing bank-notes as necessary to the existence of the government—Same doctrine promulgated by Mr. Paine in his Rights of Man—How different is this from what the world has been told—Effect of it to encourage the enemy—Resume the subject of the Sinking Fund—No interest taken off in 1808—Addington's Act of 1802—George Rose quoted to prove that it was clearly held forth to the nation that taxes would be repealed in consequence of the Sinking Fund—P. S. Sir John Sinclair's Pamphlet,

Gentlemen,

Before we resume the discussion, relating to *Pitt's Grand Sinking Fund*, which want of room obliged us to break off, at the close of the last letter, I think it may be useful to submit to you here an observation or two, calculated to obviate any unfounded apprehensions that might otherwise be excited by the apparently inevitable fate of the paper-money; and this I deem the more necessary, as publications are daily appearing, from the pens of ignorant or interested persons, the evident tendency, and, indeed, object, of which is, to persuade the public, that the existence of the government; that the existence of law and order; that the safety

to persons and property; nay, that the continuance of the very breath in our nostrils, depend upon the credit of the Bank Notes.

The author, from whose writings I have taken my motto to this present Number of my work, was, you see, of a very different opinion; and, I have quoted his sentiment upon the subject, because his work is well known to be of what is called the ANTI-JACOBIN kind, that is to say, a work the tendency of which is to prevent men like you from having any thing to say or to do, any more than your horses, in the affairs of government. This writer, who, however, might mean well, and who is certainly a very clever man, so far from supposing that the existence of the government depended upon the credit of bank notes, is, you see, fixed in his opinion, an opinion that he wishes "to inculcate with peculiar earnestness," that a REVOLUTION, thereby meaning a change in the form of government, is not the necessary consequence, even of a *National Bankruptcy*; that is to say, not only a total discredit of all the paper-money and especially the Bank of England Notes, but also an utter inability to pay, in any way whatever, the interest upon the National Debt, or any part of it.

This is my opinion also, as it always has been since I turned my attention to the subject. At the beginning of the present war, MR. ADDINGTON, who was then the Prime Minister, told the House of Commons, that one of his principal objects in laying on the Property Tax and other war taxes, was, "to convince Buonaparté, that it was hopeless for him to contend with our finances." To which the MONITEUR, or French government-newspaper, replied: "Pay your bank notes in gold and silver, and then we will believe you, without your going to war."*

* Register, Vol. III. page 948. June, 1803.

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Whether the Minister made good his promise; whether he has convinced Buonaparté, it was "hopeless for him to contend with our finances," you, Gentlemen, are as likely to be able to judge as any body that I know. I, for my part, blamed the Minister for holding out such a *motive* for his taxing measures. I said to him: The true way of convincing your enemy, that this war upon your finances will be useless, is to state explicitly to the world, that you are not at all afraid of the consequences of what is called a national bankruptcy; for, while you endeavour to make people believe, that such an event *cannot possibly happen*, they will certainly think that you regard it, if it should happen, as *irretrievable ruin and destruction*; and, therefore, as you never can quite overcome their apprehensions, the best way is to be silent upon the subject, or to set the terrific bug-bear at defiance. To Buonaparté's exultation at our approaching bankruptcy the answer is always ready: France has been a bankrupt; France has not paid her paper-money in specie; yet France is not the weaker for that; France is, in spite of her ruined finances, in spite of the long pamphlets of Sir Francis D'Ivernois and Mr. Rose, in spite of the longer speeches of Lord Mornington, Lord Auckland and Mr. Pitt, in spite of the innumerable columns of figures which these noblemen and gentlemen have drawn up in battle array against her; in spite of all this, France is yet powerful, yea, much more powerful than she was before she experienced what is called a national bankruptcy. What ground, therefore, have the French to rejoice at our finances being about to undergo a similar operation?

Such were my sentiments and my reasoning upon this subject, seven years ago; a time, when to pronounce the word *depreciation*, as applied to bank-notes, was sure to expose a man to charges very little short of *treason*, which charges were made by those very persons, who have now declared the greater half of our bank notes to be "*destructive assignats*," and who have called them "*vile and dirty rags*." My opinion was, and it still is, that the total destruction of the paper-money would not cause any change injurious to this kingdom; and, indeed, I should have a most hearty contempt for the constitution and for the whole form and composition of our government, if I thought that their existence depended

upon the credit of bank-notes. There are, however, those who think just the reverse; and these are, too, writers, who appear to be entirely devoted to the government; one of whom goes so far as to say, that the government has *no other trustworthy support* than that which it derives from the bank-notes. "The human mind," says he, "is sensible only of the present good, or evil, and has too little thought to anticipate consequences, and if it was not for the immediate personal interest of a very large and informed part of the community in the National Debt, patronage and paper currency, GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE NO EXISTENCE, standing insulated on the pure basis of duty, and remote national and respective good. The conduct of Sweden, America, Ireland, and the Jacobins of England, in their partiality for France, exemplify a want of sense to execute the maxims of Epicurus. The paper currency of Bank Notes (there should be no Country Banks) offers to Government a most indestructible support, because IT MAKES THE DAILY BREAD OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL DEPEND SUBSTANTIALLY ON THE SAFETY OF GOVERNMENT, whereas money, which may be hoarded, separates the individual from the public safety. In the present revolutionary state of the world, I think our paper currency a most miraculous mean of salvation, and the man who would propose the payment of Bank Notes in specie at any period, to separate individual property from public safety, might as well propose the burning of the Navy to protect the commerce of the world."*

Gentlemen, do you remember the writings of PAINE? Do you remember the *Rights of Man*; for the writing of which the author was prosecuted by the then Attorney General who is now the Lord Chancellor? Do you remember the *Rights of Man*, the author of which was prosecuted, and, being absent, was outlawed; the publishers of which were prosecuted all over the kingdom; the circulating of which was forbidden by Proclamation; and, to counteract the principles of which ASSOCIATIONS were formed of the rich and the powerful? Well, it was in this

* MORNING Post news-paper: 14th Sept. 1810.

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very work, that the doctrine here laid down, by this government writer, was first started. PAINE said, that *the existence of the government depended upon the existence of the bank-notes*; and that, the question was not, *how long the British government would stand*; but, *how long the Funding System would last*. PAINE's mode of reasoning was, if I am correct in my recollection, as nearly as possible like that of this government writer. He laid it down as an admitted fact, that the people (owing to causes that he stated) must be *wholly indifferent about the fate of the government*; but, that, as so many of them were, either by holding *Stocks* or *bank-notes*, interested in the fate of the government, they would, *while the Stocks and bank-notes lasted*, continue to support the government, whatever might be their feelings towards it. But, that, when, from whatever cause, the Funding System should fail, not a soul would be found to lift a finger, or, even to express a wish in favour of the existence of the government.

Just the same, or rather more, is now said by this government writer; a writer one half of whose pages are filled with invectives against those whom he calls the friends of the Emperor of France. But, how is it possible for any thing to be written more agreeable to the Emperor Napoleon than what this writer has put forth? Until now the world has been told that we entertained a real *love for our government*; that we were attached to our constitution because it afforded such fine *protection to our persons and our property*; that we loved the constitution, because it insured to us the enjoyment of *liberty*, and defended us against every species of *oppression*; that we had made numerous sacrifices, and that we were ready to make as many more, nay, even "to spend our *last shilling* and shed the *last drop of our blood*," for the sake of these *liberties* and in defence of a *king*, whom we so *dearly loved*, and in gratitude for the blessings enjoyed during whose reign, we held a Jubilee. Until NOW, this is what the world has been told. But NOW it is told, by this loyalty-professing writer, that the only motive whence we support the government at all, is, to preserve the value of the *Bank-notes* that we hold; that, if it was not for the immediate personal interest of so many people in the *National Debt*, and for *patronage and paper currency*, the Government could have no

existence; that we support the government because without its existence, the *bank-notes* would fall, and because, by the number of bank-notes, we are thus made to depend upon the safety of Government *for our daily bread*; and that, therefore, the man who would propose the payment of bank-notes in gold and silver *at any period*, might as well propose *the burning of the Navy*, or, in other words, the giving up of the country to France.

What, Gentlemen! are we never, then, to see gold and silver again? Every Minister; every Member of Parliament; every one of those, who endeavoured to palliate the measure of protecting the Bank Company from paying their notes in Gold and Silver; every one of them "*lamented the necessity*," as they called it, of the measure. But, NOW, behold, we are told that it was a *good thing*; and not only a good thing, but that *the government could not exist without it*! Gentlemen, we call ourselves a "*thinking people*;" but, believe me, that this is what would not have been said to any other civilized people upon earth.

We might here easily show how encouraging a prospect doctrines of this sort hold out to our enemy, and how strong an inducement to use all those means, whether in the way of attack or of menace, which are likely to destroy the credit of the paper-money, that being, if these doctrines be sound, the sure and certain way of destroying our government. But, another opportunity will offer for observations upon these matters; and, it is now time that we return to our inquiry into the SINKING FUND.

In the last Letter, at page 364, having stated the provisions, made in the Acts of 1786 and 1792, for the nation's *ceasing to pay interest* upon the Stock that should be redeemed, or bought up by the Commissioners, after the year 1808; or, in other words, the nation's *ceasing to pay taxes* on account of the Stock, or part of the Debt, which should be bought up after that time: having stated these provisions, we were proceeding to inquire: *What was done in the long-expected year, 1808? What was done when the year of promise came?*

Why, my Neighbours, *nothing at all was done*: just nothing at all in the

way provided for. The nation ceased to pay no *dividends of interest*; and, of course, this work of redemption caused *none of its taxes to be taken off*. "Well," say you, "but, is it possible, that, after such a solemn proceeding; after the express and positive declaration in two Acts of Parliament, that the dividends of interest should cease to be paid in 1808; is it possible, that, after that, all the dividends did continue to be paid, just the same as if those Acts had never been passed?" O, yes! It is not only possible to be so, but it is so. All the dividends have continued to be paid; and are paid to this day. The above-mentioned provisions, in the Acts of 1786 and 1792 were repealed. The Parliament undid what it had before done. It did away the provisions, which it had made in 1786 and 1792. It passed another Act, which said that those provisions should not be carried into effect; or, in other words, that which was law before was no longer law.

This new Act was passed in the month of June, 1802, ADDINGTON, the successor and the friend of PITT, being then Minister. This Act (which is Chapter 71 of the 42nd year of the reign of George III.) is entitled "An Act to amend and RENDER MORE EFFECTUAL two Acts passed in the twenty sixth and thirty second years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the reduction of the National Debt." This Act which was to render those two Acts more effectual, sets out by stating, that the said two Acts had been by experience found "to be attended with most beneficial consequences to the public credit of the country;" and having made that declaration, it sets to work, and repeals the two provisions above-mentioned; and, of course, when the year 1808 came; when the year of expectation arrived, no dividends ceased to be paid, and interest upon the whole of the Debt was still paid, and is still paid to this day.

Gentlemen, it is hardly to be believed, that any men, who, like PITT and his associates and supporters, had invented and caused to be passed, the two first mentioned Acts, could propose the last-mentioned Act, that is to say, the Act of 1802. Not only, but they propose it, but the writers laughed in our faces.



vellers and jacobins, if we ventured to express any doubt at all of the wisdom and justice of any of these successive measures; and, these writers stoutly denied, that it ever was intended to take off any of the taxes in 1808; and, of course, they maintained, that we, who felt disappointment, in this respect, were fools for our pains, and, indeed, they expressed themselves thus, that we "were nature's fools," and not the fools of the Minister.

Never, surely, were any portion of mankind treated with such barefaced contempt as the people of England were, at the time referred to, by the venal writers of newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, and reviews, who, seeing the people terrified out of their senses, by alternate alarms from within and without, seemed to think that he was the best man, who could show the greatest degree of scorn for their understanding and character. Had not this been their persuasion, would they have dared to tell us, that none but fools ever expected the Sinking Fund to produce a repeal of Taxes, when it must still remain in the memory of every man, who was then at all conversant in political matters, that the repeal of taxes; the lessening of the taxes; the making of their burthens less, was the promise held forth to the people by the supporters of PITT; nay, when it is notorious, that PITT owed the establishment of his tremendous power to the opinion which the people entertained, that he had discovered, and would put in practice, the means of reducing the load of their Taxes? This, as the great end of his schemes, was so much talked of; it is so well known, that this was so distinctly stated in the speeches in parliament, and so many times repeated, that I am almost ashamed to trouble you with any proof of the fact; yet, considering that the point is of great importance, I will put the matter beyond all dispute by a reference to a work on the increase of the Resources of the kingdom, published in 1799, under the name of GEORGE ROSE, who was then a Secretary of the Treasury, and who is now Treasurer of the Navy and a Privy Counsellor, and who, in the execution of the work about to be cited, was, doubtless, assisted by PITT himself. Indeed, this must have been the case; or, at least, it must be believed, that nothing, upon such a subject, and under the name of his official Secretary, would be published without PITT's previous approbation. In this work, which is entitled,

"A Brief of the Revenue of the Kingdom of Great Britain in the year 1799;" of the Sin are pointed the open without liament, will attack year) me later than dends du as shall shall have annuities will be the period nually, to be delayed years."

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"A Brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain, from 1792 to 1799;" in this work the hopeful effects of the Sinking Funds of 1786 and 1792 are pointed out, and the writer says: "By the operation of these sinking funds, without any further intervention of Parliament, the one existing before the war, will attain its *maximum* (4,000,000*l.* a year) most probably, in 1808, in no case later than February 1811. As the *dividends* due on such parts of the old debt as shall be paid off after the sinking fund shall have attained its *maximum*, and the annuities which shall afterwards fall in, will be at the disposal of Parliament, the period of **REPEALING TAXES** annually, to an amount equal thereto, cannot be delayed more than nine, ten, or eleven years."

Need I ask you, Gentlemen, whether you have heard of any *repealing of taxes*? Whether you have felt your *load of taxation* lightened? Whether you pay *less taxes*, than you paid when this placeman wrote his book in 1799? No. These questions I need not put to you; nor need I ask you what are your feelings towards those, who fed you with hopes of a diminution of your burdens; nor need I, perhaps, say one more word upon the subject of the *Sinking Fund*, not to have seen through which by this time would argue a much greater want of discernment than I am disposed to attribute to any part of my countrymen, and especially to you, whose discerning faculties have, as to matters of this sort, been, of late, pretty well sharpened by experience. Nevertheless, with the hope of leaving no possibility of bewildering any body in future, with regard to the nature or effect of the *Sinking Fund*, I shall add some additional remarks; but, as these remarks will open to us quite new views of the matter, and will extend to some length, I shall postpone them to my next; and I remain, in the mean while,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Monday,
September 17, 1810.

P. S. A pamphlet, entitled, "OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE BULLION COMMITTEE," has just been published by SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, who is, it seems, a member of Parliament, and who is said to have been recently made a Privy Coun-

sellor. So much of such gross ignorance, in so short a compass, I do not recollect to have met with in the course of my reading, except perhaps, in the Morning Post news-paper or in the British Critic Review. Such a publication would be wholly unworthy of serious notice, were it not pretty evidently the vehicle of the sentiments and views of others. For this reason, some of its prominent absurdities will be noticed, when I come to that part of my subject, to which they more particularly belong. In the mean time, in order to furnish the means of judging of this writer's depth of understanding, take the following specimen, from a former work of his, and compare his theory with the practice now before our eyes. "The PUBLIC DEBTS of a nation, not only attract riches from abroad, with a species of magnetic influence, but they also retain money at home, which otherwise would be exported, and which, if sent to other countries, might possibly be attended with pernicious consequences to the State, whose wealth was carried out of it. If France, for example, maintained its wars by borrowing money, and England raised all its within the year, the necessary consequence would be that all the loose and unemployed money of England, would naturally be transmitted to France, where it would be placed out to advantage." This is quite sufficient. The next time that SIR JOHN thinks of writing upon matters of this sort, he will do well to go, previously, and take a lesson of MRS. DE YONGE. She will be able to tell him for a certainty, whether National Debts have a tendency to keep money at home, to prevent it from being exported, and to bring money from abroad. She will also be able to give him a lesson upon depreciation, in a way, which, perhaps, will make the thing comprehensible even to him.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

"On Thursday a Court-martial commenced at Bexhill, for the trial of two privates of the 2nd battalion of the ROYAL GERMAN LEGION, who deserted a few days ago, and took from the beach a large boat for the purpose of going out to the enemy. They were apprehended by a boatman off Dover." TIMES NEWSPAPER, Monday, 17 Sept. 1810.

ROYAL GERMAN LEGION.—Look at the Motto, English reader! Look at the Motto! "A cat," they say, "may look at a king;" and, surely we may look at the Deserters from "the ROYAL GERMAN LE-

"GION," whom we pay.—What! desert! Soldiers of the *Royal German Legion* desert? Can this be true? And desert with a view of going over to the enemy too? Seize a boat, and actually put out to sea, in order to go over and join "the vile, base, infamous miscreant usurper," as the *Morning Post* so eloquently calls Buonaparté? Attempt to go over to join him; to join the very enemy for the express purpose of defending us against whom they were brought into this country? What! in such haste to get to him, that they could not wait for chances to take them near to him, or to take him near to them? What eagerness there must have been in these men of the *Royal German Legion* to join the enemy of England!—But, upon reflection, this, surely, cannot be true. The *TIMES* News-paper must have been deceived. It must be a *Libel* upon the *Royal German Legion*. What! these *Royal Legion Soldiers*, "whose loyalty to their sovereign" induced them to leave Hanover when the French approached it, and to enter since into corps for the defence of that sovereign's dominions here, desert; and desert, too, with an intention of going over to the hated Napoleon? Oh! it never can be; and the *TIMES* news-paper, which must have been imposed upon by some ill-disposed person, will, I dare say, lose no time in thanking me for giving it this timely hint to make that sort of retraction, which is vulgarly, and most emphatically, called, *drawing in the horns*.—If, however, the fact should prove true; if such court-martial, and for such a purpose, should be now sitting, let us hope, that its proceedings will be made known to us. It is a case which has not before occurred. Deserters enough, from amongst our English and Scotch and Irish soldiers, we have heard of: plenty of deserters from the service: thousands upon thousands of deserters from the service, as the accounts laid before Parliament will tell; but, this is the first, and the very first instance that we have heard of, wherein deserters from our army, at home, have made attempts to get over to the enemy.—If a disposition like this exist; and if it exist in so strong a degree as to induce men to put off to sea in an open boat, what must be the consequence, if the same men were in the field, and, perhaps, within musket-shot of the enemy's out-posts, which is very frequently the case?—But, there is a still more weighty consideration belonging to this fact, if a

fact it be; and, that is, the example; and who shall say, how far that may extend? Deserting to France is something quite new in our army: the idea is new: and, an idea it is that may, possibly, prove of extreme danger to the country. Men's minds soon grow familiar with any thing that favours their views. This notion of deserting to the French coast by twos may be improved upon, if not, at once, most decidedly reprobated, and effectual measures adopted for preventing men from attempting to act upon it. Let the reader only consider, for a moment, what must be the natural and inevitable consequence of even the bare fact of two soldiers in the English army, two of "our defenders," making an attempt to desert from England to France. Let him consider what must be the effect of this upon the minds of our own soldiers, upon the minds of our enemies, and upon the minds of all other nations.—Viewing the thing in this light, I cannot help repeating an expression of my hope, that the proceedings of this court-martial may be made known to the public at large.—Either invasion is thought within the compass of probability, or it is not: if the latter, it is pretty clear that there is no great necessity for any troops at all to be stationed upon our coasts: if the former, it is not, I think, less clear, that we ought to sift to the bottom this attempt to go over to the enemy, made by soldiers appointed to defend that coast.—We are told, and we appear to believe, that we are the most "thinking people" upon earth. We should do well to think a little upon this matter, before it be too late; for, as the saying is, "thoughts are free" at any rate.—I, for my part, shall keep my eye upon the transaction; and, I shall expect from the *TIMES* news-paper, either an explicit drawing in of the horns, or, a full account of the proceedings and result of the Court-martial.

BRAZILS.—Either this Number, or the next, will contain "THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP and ALLIANCE" between our king and the Prince Regent of Portugal, concluded at Rio de Janeiro, in February last, several parts of which treaty call for a little observation; but for the present, at least, I shall confine myself to what presents itself to me, as to the 3d and the 6th articles, the former of which relates to the possession of the Crown of Portugal, and the latter to the building of English ships of war in the BRAZILS.—As to this pro-

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vision for permission for us to build ships of war, the Article says, that the Prince Regent, in gratitude for the benefits he has received from the Royal Navy of England, "is pleased to grant to his Britannic Majesty the privilege of causing timber for the purpose of building ships of war to be purchased and cut down in the woods, forests, and chases of Brazil (excepting in Royal Forests, which are appointed for the use of the Portuguese navy,) together with permission to cause ships of war to be built, equipped, or repaired within the ports and harbours of that Empire, a previous application and notice being made in each instance (for form's sake) to the Court of Portugal, which shall immediately appoint an officer of the royal navy to assist and attend upon these occasions. And it is expressly declared and promised that these privileges shall not be granted to any other nation or state whatsoever." Let us first look back a little, which may be of great use. — The worth of this privilege; the practicability of doing any of the things of the kind contemplated, was discussed by me, at the time of the "PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION," and under that head, in Volumes XII and XIII of the Register, where I took all possible pains to prevent the effect of those delusions, the consequences of which have recently been felt. The newspapers of the day teemed with triumphant exultations at the prospect of opening a trade with the Brazils, of which they gave a picture too flattering, alas! for many to resist; and thousands, even thousands of families, are now plunged into ruin for having rejected my advice. — In commenting upon an article describing the speculations to the Brazils, I said: "There needs no assurance, on the part of this writer, to convince me, that the event has produced great satisfaction amongst the inhabitants of Finsbury Square and Thames Street; nor have I the least doubt that the Brazils will soon become a grand out-let for the produce, or fruits, of the industry of the people of England, having, indeed, shewn in my former Number, that this would be the case. But I see, in this, nothing to give me satisfaction, and nothing that ought to give satisfaction to any man, who has the good of England at heart."* Again, in another part of my

work, I said: "Already, we are told, that a hundred thousand pounds, taken out of the taxes of England, has been sent off, in specie, to the Brazils, to assist her most faithful majesty. And this, after all, is the result of that 'glorious event,' which was to produce so much good to England! When will this commercial and colonising rage cease to beggar and enslave us? Never, till the CORRUPTIONS, which are found to be so conveniently carried on through the medium of commercial and colonial associations, are banished by a wholesome change."† — Over and over again did I exhort my countrymen not to be deceived by the representations in the Morning Post and the other bragging news-papers. I exhorted them not to suffer any one to persuade them to send their property to the BRAZILS. I assured them, and I proved to them, that the adventure must be attended with ruin. My advice, grounded upon a thorough knowledge of the subject, was scouted, and not without imputations upon my "loyalty:" and the advice of presumptuous ignorance, joined to hypocritical zeal for the royal cause, was followed. The adventurers, and those who trusted them, now feel the consequences: consequences the just reward of their credulity; or, rather, of their perverseness in preferring falshood to truth. — At the time, to which we are now referring, a great bustle was made about the capacity of the BRAZILS for building ships of war, and supplying our West-India islands with lumber; and, one of our flattering writers, whose object was to console us for the driving of the family of Braganza out of Europe, asserted that there was already cut down TIMBER sufficient for twenty ships of the line, whereupon I made the following remarks, the whole of which are, at this time, peculiarly applicable. "Timber for twenty sail of the line! What was it cut down for? And who cut it down? The event, which has now taken place, could not have been anticipated in the Brazils; and if it had, whence were to come the hands to cut down the timber? The whole of the population does not surpass half a million of souls, scattered over an immense territory. The Europeans do not work, and the African slaves are employed in raising them provisions and in

* Register, Vol. XII. p. 2, January 2nd, 1808.

† Register, *ibid.* p. 175. January 30, 1808.

working the mines. It would require, I should think, one half of the working population to be employed for a whole year to cut down and rough-hew timber sufficient for twenty ships of the line, supposing a sufficiency of the various sorts of timber to be found in the country, which, I am convinced, is not the case. And, if one half of the working population were employed in this way, is it not evident, that one half of the people must cease to eat; or, that one half of the mines must cease to be worked? This assertion, therefore, respecting the timber cut down in the Brazil is not less weak than untrue. Still, however, it is, as to both these qualities, far surpassed by the assertion respecting the capability of the Brazil to supply our West India colonies "with provisions, lumber, and every article of necessity." This writer will say, that it is unfair, if I suppose him to include amongst articles of necessity, the clothing and hardware requisites in the West Indies; and, therefore, I will suppose him to mean only the wood necessary for buildings and for cooperage, and the food necessary for the people to live upon. First, as to the wood, the inhabited part of the Brazil is at a distance from the centre of our West India colonies, five times as great as that which divides these colonies from the centre ports of the United States of America, or from Nova Scotia; so that, supposing there to be a spare population in the Brazil, sufficient for the preparation of the several sorts of lumber; supposing there to be a sufficiency of saw-mills and of other conveniences under the scorching suns of the Brazil; and supposing there to be iron and shipwrights in abundance, in that country, the lumber must arrive in the West Indies at an expence which would soon cause the plantations to be deserted, English sugar necessarily being quite unable to bear a moment's competition with that raised by the colonists of other nations. But, supposing all this to be overbalanced by the advantage of getting the lumber from a country other than the American States. Yet, what good is this grand event to us, in this respect? We have another of our own, Nova Scotia, covered with all sorts of wood, from the pine to the hazel, and we have, nevertheless, found, that it is impossible thence to draw the lumber necessary for our West India colonies. The reason is, that we have not there a sufficiency of population to prepare the lumber for the West Indies, and we never

shall have, as long as the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomack, the Ohio, and the Mississippi invite to the til-
ling of a climate more genial." Who does not, upon reading this, see that the 6th Article of the Treaty before us can never have any practical effect. What! Are we to go to the Brazil for timber to build ships with, when we have Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Canada, all covered with timber of every sort and size, and abounding in most convenient places for harbours and docks? For what, I should be glad to know, are we to do this?—Timber! Aye, there is plenty, a great abundance, of timber, without trenching upon "the Royal FORESTS," good God! Oh, yes! There is a vast superabundance of timber; but, whence are to come the Iron, the Cordage, all the means of making Arsenals; and, if all these were found, whence are to come the workmen?—Yet shall we be told: nay, do not laugh, reader; for, as sure as you will be reading this article of mine, the readers of the "fashionable World" will be told, and, I dare say, they will believe, that this 6th Article of the Brazil Treaty will *amplify make up to us*, for the acquisitions which France is making in that mine of naval stores, the shores of the Baltic. And thus another delusion will get afloat, and will be sucked in with full as much confidence as the last.——Besides, reader, suppose it PRACTICABLE for us to build ships and to establish arsenals in the Brazil, have those who cry the thing up, reflected upon the consequences of so doing? If you remove the arsenals of England from England, what do you do much short of annihilating the power of England? You take from her her most precious possession; and, is it to be believed, that Navies built and manned almost on the other side of this globe, would remain long in the service of this island? It was quite practicable for us to build ships in our fine colonies, now the American States; but we took very good care not to do it; we took very good care not to send our most valuable artisans to settle out of the kingdom, in order to build navies to eclipse our native navy; we never have, I believe, yet had a Royal arsenal even in the sister Island; and, therefore, I should like very much to know, whose genius it was that conceived the brilliant idea of sending Iron and Cordage to be wrought up with the timber of the Brazil; to send out English artisans

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to work them up; and, to tax the people of England for money to be spent in ship-building at a distance equal to more than one half, I believe, of the space that is between us and the directly opposite side of the world.—Alas! this is not the way that the Emperor Napoleon goes to work. He looks out for arsenals nearer home. He goes to Sweden and Norway, whence we get our Iron and our Timber, and he takes, by due degrees, possession of every channel, through which we draw our naval stores. He makes arsenals on the banks of the Scheldt, and the news, under the head of Antwerp of this very day, tells us, that "the two ships of the line that were launched this year from this harbour, have made room for the *Hymen* and the *Momarch*, of 110 guns, which are now on the stocks." Each of which ships will, I am satisfied, be built and sent to sea at a less expence than we could build and fit out a gun-boat in the Brazils.—So much for the "privilege" secured to us by the 6th Article of the Treaty before us; so much for what the "fashionable world's" print speaks of as "an important advantage, conceded to this country, of purchasing and cutting down timber in the FORESTS of Brazil, for building ships of war, and for building, equipping, or repairing ships of war within the Brazilian Ports and Harbours."—Brazilian Ports! Brazilian harbours! But, the "FORESTS of Brazil" amuse one the most. The FORESTS! Like the New Forest, I suppose; or the Forest of Bere; or Wolmer Forest; or Holt Forest? "Oh, no! a great deal finer and larger than any of these, and better set with wood." Aye, I'll warrant you; but, reader, let me, who have seen a great deal of this sort of "Forest" land, assure you, that the spot that was covered, by the carcasses of my two heifers, last night, in the Forest of Bere, is worth more, in any view with which an estimate can be made, than any million or ten million of acres of the "Forests" of Brazil; and this, whatever foolish Englishman shall try the experiment will, when it is too late, find to be true; and, therefore, I would anxiously caution my credulous countrymen in general, against this new delusion, which I trust will be reserved for the exclusive benefit of the "fashionable world," to whose adventures, in this way, I most heartily wish success.—The 3d article of the Treaty is as follows: "The seat of the Portuguese Monarchy being established in Brazil, his Britan-

nic Majesty promises in his own name, and in that of his heirs and successors, never to acknowledge, as King of Portugal, any Prince other than the heir and representative of the Royal House of Braganza; and his Majesty also engages to renew and maintain with the Regency (which his Royal Highness may establish in Portugal) the relations of friendship which have so long united the Crowns of Great Britain and Portugal."—There is very little to be said upon this. The King promises, for himself and his heirs and successors, "NEVER to acknowledge, as king" (or sovereign, I suppose) "of Portugal," any body but the heir of the House of Braganza; that is to say, any body but the Prince Regent and his successors. I have only to add, that this promise is made "IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY."—This being the case, it is, I think, high time that we begin to inquire what sort of a state this same Portugal is now in; whence we shall, perhaps, be able to form something like an estimate of the probable cost of adhering to this promise, made with a degree of solemnity and piety, so truly characteristic.

PORTUGAL.—In my last Number, at page 371, I was so pressed for room, that I could not resume my remarks upon the war in Portugal, which had been, in the former Number, page 342, brought down to about the 20th of August, at which time the enemy had, it was said, begun the siege of the fortress of ALMEIDA, but with every prospect of not soon succeeding in reducing it.—But, I will, before I presume to offer any remarks upon these matters myself, go back, and state what, through the channel of the Morning Post, the "fashionable world" have sucked in like mother's-milk, since the time here referred to.—They have been told, that in Spain, not fewer than 1,500 deserters from the French army entered into our service about the 21st of August, on the side of Gibraltar;—that on the side of Madrid there is "a farmer, a fine dashing young fellow," at the head of about 1,500 men, who sometimes "dashes into the very gates of Madrid, and intercepts the French dispatches;"—that, when followed the farmer and his men (adopting the practice of partridges) disperse to meet again at the rallying point;—that Lord Talavera frankly says, that if he is blessed with health and a continuance of

good spirits, he has no fear for the result of the expected general action;—that Marshal Beresford has transmitted to the council of regency an eagle taken from the Swiss battalion lately made prisoners of war;—that (for the sake, we may suppose, of shewing what valour it required to take this eagle from the Swiss) a body of Swiss troops to the number of 500, deserted to the British army, on the 29th of August with all their arms and accoutrements;—that Lord Talavera's proclamation denouncing punishment against those Portuguese who may favour the French, and that his general orders respecting those officers who send home news from his army, and who are called by this writer traitors to their country, must be read with *satisfaction* and make us *happy*;—that, turning again to the side of Spain the Junta at Cadiz had heard what the governor of Madrid had said in a *whisper* at his table;—that king Joseph had narrowly escaped being murdered, that his goods were all packing up at Madrid, that he had escaped from the play-house on foot, that general Morla was put in a state of arrest because he said he thought the game was up, that *poor Joseph* had reached almost the end of his cares of royalty, that he was about to quit Madrid, that his brother had sent for him home to France, that there was a general pack up at Madrid, that the sale of provisions at the palace at Madrid, had actually commenced, and that this intelligence all came from a source "of unquestionable *authenticity*," namely that of a Spanish officer, who had "entered the service of *Joseph*, in order that he might have an *opportunity of coming over to us*;"—that, (turning now back again to Portugal) the French army shews an *unwearied respect* for the gallantry of Lord Talavera, whose caution, vigilance, judgment, and sagacity, have out-witted Massena;—that the opposition in England do not rejoice in the present prospect of things, which sheds such additional lustre on our military fame;—that the ministers, their adherents, and every good subject, heartily exult in the present posture of things, both in Spain and Portugal, a posture of things which falsifies the promises, which derides the threats, which defeats the projects, and which confounds the ambition of Buonaparté, and to true British hearts such prospects and events must ever be matter of proud exultation, however they may disappoint the expectations of

Buonaparté's admirers, and frustrate the views of an ambitious faction;—that the people in Portugal vie with each other in zeal for the good cause;—that the desertions from the French army continue;—that 70 men came over lately in one day and some of these were Frenchmen;—that our army is getting ready for a general engagement, and that, though a bloody, it will doubtless be a glorious day for Britain, as the armies are nearly equal in force;—that the soldiers of the French army are very much *discontented*, in consequence of being obliged to cut the corn and to thrash and grind it (whether with their teeth or not, is not mentioned);—that Lord Talavera, tells our government, in his last dispatches that Massena is in such *distress for provisions*, that he was obliged to send one half of his army back into Spain;—that the royal academy of Lisbon has proposed the following question: "What will be the most proper mode of erecting, in Portugal, a monument of eternal gratitude, that may preserve to posterity an indelible testimony of British generosity, which, by the most costly sacrifices, has liberally bestowed all the means of saving our country, and maintaining its independence. Essays on the subject are to be received till the end of December."—This was what had been stated in these prints up to the 16th of this month. On the 17th, the "fashionable world" were told, that Almeida had fallen!—Yes, that Almeida had fallen, that Mr. Cox, the English Colonel, who commanded in it, was safe, that the event was produced by treachery. But on the 18th, out comes the truth; or, at least, a part of the truth, in the following words; before we insert which, however, let us ask, how it comes to pass, that these dispatches of my Lord Talavera, have not been published. Why should these dispatches more than other dispatches, be kept from the eye of the public?—"Dispatches were received this morning from Lord Wellington, by which it appears that the enemy opened his fire upon Almeida on the night of the 25th, ult. and obtained possession of the place on the night of the 27th.—Some prisoners taken on the 28th report, that the magazines of the Fort blew up on the night of the 25th; that on the 27th the Governor proposed to surrender the place on condition that the garrison and inhabitants might join Lord Wellington's army, but this was refused,

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"and the fire was renewed. The Governor held out while his ammunition lasted, and surrendered at two a. m. of the 28th. Offers had been made to the garrison to take them into the French service, but they all rejected the offer with indignation, and preferred being sent prisoners to France.—The weather had interrupted Lord Wellington's telegraphic communication with Almeida on the 26th and great part of the 27th, so that he had no opportunity of knowing its situation after the explosion of the magazine.—Lord Wellington has again moved his infantry to the Valley of Mondego, keeping a division on Guarda. His cavalry outposts at Alverca, Head-quarters at Celorico. On the 25th some skirmishes took place between the piquets: Captain Lygon of the 16th, was wounded. A piquet of the Royal Dragoons made a gallant and successful charge upon the body of the enemy, and made some prisoners.—Regnier has made no material movement. Sixty of his cavalry had been cut off by a corps of the 13th Light Dragoons, and a troop of the 4th Portuguese Dragoons under Captain White, and the whole were made prisoners, except the Commanding Officer and one man who were killed. This has been a very creditable affair to the allied cavalry.—In the North, a French corps advanced on the 20th to Alcanêzas, but on the approach of General Silveira, from Braganza, they immediately retreated. Lord Wellington's dispatch is dated Celorico, the 29th ult.—Since writing the above we hear that 500 men were blown up when the magazine of Almeida exploded. The Governor, Cox, is among the wounded."—Thus, you see, reader, every thing favourable, that they told us was false. Mr. Cox, it appears, is, not safe; the event was not produced by treachery; the resistance made, was of no duration worth speaking of; and, reader, do you not blush, to reflect that they are your countrymen, who, after what you have read above, attempt to make an apology for the surrender of this fortress, which apology they ground upon assertions about hazy weather and want of ammunition?—These same writers, even at the very time that they are communicating this event to the public, put forth a string of new falsehoods. They assert that the fall of this fortress can have no influence on the fortunes of the campaign; that the spirit

of resistance to the French daily spreads wider and burns fiercer; and that, in short, our prospects in that part of the world are *brighter than ever*.—Here I should quit the subject of the war in Portugal for the present, were I not called upon for a word or two by way of answer to the Morning Chronicle, which print, contrary to its general character for correctness, had stated previous to my number of the 8th instant, that we had but a *handful* of men in Portugal, upon which I made a remark (at page 312) which the Morning Chronicle has since construed into a sneer. I did not sneer; but, if I had, I am sure Mr. Perry will now excuse the sneer, when he has attentively examined the following document, (doubtless authentic) taken from the COURIER, ministerial-news-paper of the 17th instant.

24 Regiments of Portuguese Infantry, of 1,550 men each ...	37,000
12 of Cavalry, 594 each	7,128
6 Battalions of Chasseurs, of 628 men each	3,768
The Loyal Lusitanian Legion ...	2,267
4 Regiments of Artillery, of 1,200 men each	4,800
4 ditto ditto, 1,148 men each ...	4,592
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Portuguese Regulars	59,755
48 Regiments of Portuguese Militia, at 1,101 men each	52,848
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English Army	112,603
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Total	30,000
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Total	142,603

What, then! Where is now the man; I would fain see the man, with a wig or in his own hair; I would fain see the man, who would attempt, after this, to take from me any part of my army of SIXTY THOUSAND FIGHTING MEN. Here are, as the reader will see, 142 thousand men; and, surely this is not a *handful*, Mr. Perry. It is a number far greater than it has ever been pretended Massena had. Well, then, may we make sure of final success, seeing, too, that Massena's army is daily and hourly wasting with hunger, sickness, and desertion, a fact which is stated in every packet of letters that arrives. Observe, too, that this statement does not include Romana's army, which, from the last accounts, appears to be 20 thousand more, which would make the whole amount to 162 thousand men, with

which force, if the French are not driven out of Portugal and Spain, there is nothing left for it but to betake ourselves to the Morning Post, artillery, namely, the artillery of execrations.

W. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,
September 18th, 1810.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.—*Proclamation of the DUKE OF DALMATIA (Marshal Soult), relative to the punishment of those Spaniards who oppose the French, without being in an army.—Seville, May 9, 1810.*

Don Blas de Aranza, Counsellor of State of his Catholic Majesty, Royal Commissary, Prefect of this Province, &c. His Excellency the Marshal of the Empire, Duke of Dalmatia, has transmitted to me the following orders, dated the 7th inst.:—The state of the South of Spain imperiously requires that vigorous measures should be adopted to encourage respectable people, and destroy those factious bands who endeavour to excite in this unhappy kingdom all the horrors of civil war: it is therefore become necessary, in consequence of this state of affairs, to rigidly enforce the following orders:—I. In every place where a civic guard is not organized, and where it is consequently necessary to station Imperial troops to maintain peace and prevent disorders, the pay of the said troops, during the time they may remain in such cantonments, is to be discharged by the inhabitants, who are moreover bound to supply them with the usual articles of subsistence.—II. Whatever may be the nature of any crime committed in a district, the inhabitants shall be obliged to pay the value of the stolen property; and in addition thereto, an extraordinary war contribution shall be imposed on them.—III. All districts that organize a civic guard, or volunteer companies, for the purpose of protecting the public establishments, maintaining tranquillity, and repressing robbery, shall be exempt from this burthen and penalty.—IV. All the inhabitants of a district are responsible in a mass for the safety and preservation of the public funds, as well as the royal treasure; should it, therefore, happen that the districts suffer this property to be carried off by robbers, they shall be immediately amerced in a sum triple the value of the stolen property. The same penalty

shall be inflicted on persons who allow themselves to be robbed, and they shall moreover be liable to the regulations contained in the 1st article.—V. Districts that furnish assistance to the bands of robbers, whether in men, horses, beasts of burthen, provisions or forage, or which suffer them to be carried off, shall be obliged to pay into the Royal Treasury three times the value of the articles so supplied, and shall be brought before a tribunal to be tried by the laws against such persons as give assistance in any way to robbers, and against the families of those who attach themselves to such bands.—VI. No species of indemnity will be received for the pains and penalties contained in the foregoing articles, unless the inhabitants shall prove that they resisted, and that they were obliged to yield to a superiority of force, which must in all such cases exceed half the population.—VII. Should it happen that a district is surprised by a considerable number of robbers, and that its force is not sufficient to repel them, the magistrates are enjoined to adopt all possible means of making it known to the troops in the neighbouring districts, who, so soon as they are apprized of it, are to march without delay to the assistance of the districts that are attacked; but should there be the least neglect on any side in this respect, those guilty of it shall be punished.—VIII. The Magistrates of every district are personally responsible for strangers travelling therein, and those residing in it. It is their duty to arrest all persons travelling without a regular passport; those who shall not make known their means of living; persons whose conduct becomes suspicious from making seditious proposals, exciting the inhabitants to join the insurgents, distributing proclamations or false intelligence contrary to the Government of his most Catholic Majesty the King, Don Joseph Napoleon, or maintaining an understanding with the rebels. The persons arrested shall be conducted by the Magistrates to the principal town in the provincial district, and brought before the respective Tribunals, by which they shall be immediately brought to trial.—IX. There is no other Spanish army than that of the King Don Joseph Napoleon. Therefore all collections of persons in the provinces, whatever be their number or whoever be their leader, shall be considered only as so many gangs of robbers, whose sole object is plunder and murder. Every one belonging to these gangs, who is

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taken with arms in his hands, shall be immediately tried by the military Prevot and shot, and his body exposed on the highway.—X. Every individual who shall arrest a murderer or robber who is convicted of being such, shall receive a reward of 100 francs; which shall be increased in proportion to the consequence of the person arrested.—These are the measures which appear to me the most effectual for re-establishing order. They cannot be considered as too severe, when it is known that the weight of them is intended to fall upon criminals, who have hitherto defied the ordinary laws. The object I have in view will be partially obtained, if the respectable classes of the community, animated by greater confidence, will henceforth display more energy, and by so doing render themselves more worthy of the approbation of his Most Catholic Majesty. (Signed)

The Marshal DUKE OF DALMATIA.

That every one may become acquainted with this, and no one pretend ignorance of it, I have ordered it to be published, in obedience to his Majesty's orders communicated by his Excellency the Duke of Dalmatia. (Signed)

BLAS DE ARANZA.

Retaliatory Proclamation, issued at Cadiz, 15th Aug. 1810.

The Council of Regency of the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, governing these States in the name of their King Ferdinand VII, a prisoner, feeling the utmost horror and indignation on reading a kind of Decree signed at Seville on the 9th May of the present year, by a lunatic, calling himself the Duke of Dalmatia, and published by a degenerate Spaniard of the name of Blas de Aranza, would have forthwith adopted measures against a proceeding offensive to the brave defenders of their religion, their king, and their country, if they could have conceived that the articles of this sanguinary decree were intended to be put in force; but, as experience has not left the least doubt on this point, the Council of Regency feels itself under the necessity of departing from the bounds of that sober conduct, inspired till this moment by their own noble sentiments and those of the magnanimous nation that has placed them at its head, whose dignity it considers to have been grossly insulted; and considering how improperly the epithets of robbers and murderers are applied, by which the

said Duke of Dalmatia, and the French Marshals, and Generals, attempt to justify the unexampled horrors which they commit in countries they have unjustly attacked, and the denaturalization of the small number of Spanish wretches, who by assisting such robbers, flatter themselves they shall be able to complete their perfidious plan of usurpation, by means revolting to humanity, have ordered that the following articles be observed and put in execution.—I. They renew the declaration of the Central Junta on the 20th of March in last year; to wit, that every inhabitant of Spain, capable of bearing arms, is a soldier of his country, because, in consequence of the measures already taken, every Spaniard is obliged to take up arms against the brigands who infest the Peninsula, and join the armies, the flying corps, the detachments, or Guerrillas, acting together or separately, or composing the corps of reserve or garrisons.—II. If on the arrival of the national troops in any district, they shall find there a body, calling itself the Civic Guard, appointed by the Usurper Joseph, the commanders of battalions and other superior officers of such guard shall be immediately taken before the next justices; and in case the national troops have been fired on, the chief or chiefs who ordered it shall be brought before a council of war, and upon conviction shall be punished according to the magnitude of their offence.—III. The Corregidores, Alcades, Justices, &c. of districts who through fear of the French shall refuse to facilitate supplies of provisions or assistance to the national troops, shall be punished, as well as the inhabitants for any charges substantiated against them.—IV. The Justices of districts, and the officers commanding corps or parties, are ordered to arrest every passenger who shall be found bearing the orders of the intrusive government, or who shall represent himself as authorised by such government to make requisitions of provisions or any other articles; he shall be conducted to the next post occupied by the national troops to be there tried and punished.—V. For every Spaniard proved to have been murdered in obedience to the before-mentioned Decree of the Duke of Dalmatia, the first three Frenchmen taken in arms, shall be hanged without fail.—VI. For every house that shall be burned without any other object in view than the execution of that system of devastation proposed by those calling themselves Marshals, Generals, and Chiefs of the

gangs of the tyrant Napoleon, the three first persons taken belonging to the French army shall be hanged, and as many for every one, whatever be his age or condition, who will have perished in the flames, or in consequence of the fire.—VII. Considering that he is the true robber and murderer who kills and plunders from habit, the Council of Regency declares, that so long as the Duke of Dalmatia does not withdraw his sanguinary decree, and does not alter the conduct he has observed in Spain, he shall be personally considered as unworthy of the protection of the law of nations, and be treated like a robber, if he should happen to be taken by any of our troops.—VIII. Although no Marshal of France ever took upon him to publish so atrocious a decree as that of General Soult, calling himself the Duke of Dalmatia, seeing, notwithstanding that all or the greater part of Napoleon's satellites, including therein the Usurper Joseph, as well as the infamous Spaniards who surround him, persist in giving no other names to the Spanish troops than those of insurgents and robbers, the Council of Regency declares that until these offensive names be changed, the French armies in Spain shall be considered in no other light than robbers or assassins, and shall be called by no other name whenever it is necessary to mention them.—IX. This order shall be communicated to the Commander of the National troops, to the Captains General of provinces, to the Governors of fortresses, and all those at the head of corps, moveable columns, detachments, and the leaders of Guerillas. It shall be communicated by these to the enemy's Generals to whom they are opposed; endeavours shall be made to circulate it among the French soldiers, that they may judge with their own eyes, of the measures we are compelled to adopt by the inconsiderate rashness of a madman.—X. The present order shall be, moreover, printed in French and Spanish, and circulated every where, as well within as without the kingdom, that every one may become acquainted with, and that all Europe may shudder at the horrible conduct of these enemies of the human race; and that all the powers, the allies, or rather the slaves of France, already too unfortunate in having their children, their relations, and their friends in the French armies, may see the inevitable fate prepared for them by the cruelty of a monster, who having been disappointed in his plans of conquest, makes a last effort; persuading himself without

doubt, that by these means he will find no difficulty in subjecting a nation, which never ceases to shew the superlative contempt with which it regards such threats, and whose greatness of soul encreases so wonderfully in its reverses, that the Tyrant of France should in future be convinced, that all his forces and those of his allies are far from being sufficient to subdue a people, who have sworn to defend their rights, and to maintain them with equal perseverance and bravery.—*His Majesty has ordered me to communicate this Royal Order to you, that it may be published, circulated, and afterwards carried into execution.* (Signed)

EUSEBIO DE BARDAXI and AZARA.

BRAZILS.—*Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal.*—Signed at Rio de Janeiro, the 19th of February, 1810.

In the Name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, being impressed with a sense of the advantage which the two Crowns have derived from the perfect harmony and friendship which have subsisted between them during four centuries, in a manner equally honourable to the good faith, moderation, and justice of both parties, and recognizing the important and happy effects which their mutual alliance has produced at the present crisis, during which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal (firmly attached to the cause of Great Britain, as well by his own principles as by the example of his august ancestors,) has continually received from his Britannic Majesty the most generous and disinterested support and succour, both in Portugal and his other dominions, have determined, for the benefit of their respective states and subjects to form a solemn treaty of friendship and alliance: for which purpose his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, have named for their respective Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Britannic Majesty the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Percy Clinton Sydney, Lord Viscount and Baron of Strangford, one of his Majesty's most Honourable

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Privy Council, Knight of the Military Order of the Bath, Grand Cross of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword, and his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Portugal; and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, Count of Linhares, Lord of Payalvo, Commander of the Order of Christ, Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Bento, and of the Order of the Tower and Sword, one of his Royal Highness's Council of State, and his Principal Secretary of State for the Departments of Foreign Affairs and War; who, after having duly exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles: Article I. There shall be a perpetual firm and unalterable friendship, defensive alliance, and strict and inviolable union, between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the one part, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, his heirs and successors on the other part; as also between and amongst their respective kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, and subjects, so that the high contracting parties shall constantly employ as well their utmost attention as all those means which Almighty Providence has put in their power, for preserving the public tranquillity and security, for maintaining their common interests and for their mutual defence and guarantee against every hostile attack, the whole in conformity to the treaties already subsisting between the high contracting parties; the stipulations of which, so far as the points of alliance and friendship are concerned, shall remain in entire force and vigour, and shall be deemed to be renewed by the present treaty in their fullest interpretation and extent.—II. In consequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two High Contracting Parties shall always act in concert for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and in case that either of them should be threatened with a hostile attack by any power whatever, the other shall employ its most earnest and effectual good offices, either for preventing hostilities, or for procuring just and complete satisfaction to the injured party.—III. In conformity with this declaration, his Britannic Majesty agrees to renew and confirm, and does hereby renew and confirm, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, the engagement contained in the sixth Article of the Con-

vention signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries in London on the twenty-second day of October, 1807, which Article is hereunto subjoined, with the omission only of the words "previously to his departure for Brazil," which words immediately followed the words "which his Royal Highness may establish in Portugal."—"The seat of the Portuguese Monarchy being established in Brazil, his Britannic Majesty promises in his own name, and in that of his heirs and successors, never to acknowledge as King of Portugal any Prince other than the heir and legitimate representative of the Royal House of Braganza; and his Majesty also engages to renew and maintain with the Regency (which his Royal Highness may establish in Portugal) the relations of friendship which have so long united the Crowns of Great Britain and Portugal."—And the two High Contracting Parties do also renew and confirm the additional articles relating to the Island of Madeira, signed in London on the 16th day of March, 1808, and engage faithfully to execute such of them as remain to be executed.—IV. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal renews and confirms to his Britannic Majesty the engagement which has been made in his royal name, to make good all and several the losses and defalcations of property sustained by the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of the various measures which the Court of Portugal was unwillingly obliged to take in the month of November, 1807. And this article is to be carried into full effect as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.—V. It is agreed, that in case it should appear that any losses or injuries in point of property have been sustained either by the Portuguese Government, or by the subjects of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, in consequence of the state of public affairs at the time of the amicable occupation of Goa by the troops of his Britannic Majesty; the said losses and injuries shall be duly investigated, and that upon due proof thereof they shall be made good by the British Government.—VI. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, preserving a grateful remembrance of the service and assistance which his Crown and family have received from the Royal Navy of England, being convinced that it has been by the powerful exertions of that navy in support of the rights and independence of Europe, that the most effectual barrier has hitherto

been opposed to the ambition and injustice of other states; and desiring to give a proof of confidence and perfect friendship to his true and ancient ally the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is pleased to grant to his Britannic Majesty the privilege of causing timber for the purpose of building ships of war to be purchased and cut down in the woods, forests, and chases of Brazil (excepting in the Royal Forests, which are appointed for the use of the Portuguese navy,) together with permission to cause ships of war to be built, equipped, or repaired within the ports and harbours of that Empire, a previous application and notice being made in each instance (for form's sake) to the Court of Portugal, which shall immediately appoint an officer of the royal navy to assist and attend upon these occasions. And it is expressly declared and promised that these privileges shall not be granted to any other nation or state whatsoever.—VII. It is stipulated and agreed by the present Treaty, that if at any time a squadron or number of ships of war should be sent by either of the high contracting parties for the succour and assistance of the other, the party receiving the succour and assistance shall, at its own proper charge and expence, furnish the said squadron or ships of war (so long as they may be actually employed for its benefit, protection, or service), with the articles of fresh beef, vegetables, and fuel, in the same proportion in which those articles are usually supplied to its own ships of war, by the party so granting the succour and assistance. And this agreement is declared to be reciprocally binding on each of the high contracting parties.—VIII. Whereas it is stipulated by former Treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, that in times of peace the ships of war of the former power, that may be admitted at any one time into any port belonging to the other, shall not exceed the number of six, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, confiding in the faith and permanency of his alliance with his Britannic Majesty, is pleased to abrogate and annul this restriction altogether, and to declare, that henceforward any number of ships whatever, belonging to his Britannic Majesty, may be admitted at one time into any port belonging to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal. And it is further

stipulated that this privilege shall not be granted to any other nation or state whatever, whether in return for any other equivalent, or in virtue of any subsequent treaty or agreement, it being solely founded upon the principles of the unexampled amity and confidence which have during so many ages subsisted between the Crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. And it is further agreed and stipulated, that transports *bona fide* such, and actually employed on the service of either of the high contracting parties, shall be treated within the ports of the other on the same footing as if they were ships of war.—His Britannic Majesty does also agree on his part to permit any number of ships belonging to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, to be admitted at one time into any port of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, and there to receive succour and assistance if necessary, and be otherwise treated as the ships of the most favoured nation; this engagement being also reciprocal between the two high contracting parties.—IX. The Inquisition or Tribunal of the Holy Office not having been hitherto established or recognized in Brazil, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, guided by an enlightened and liberal policy, takes the opportunity afforded by the present Treaty to declare spontaneously in his own name, and in that of his heirs and successors, that the Inquisition shall not hereafter be established in the South American dominions of the Crown of Portugal.—And his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of this declaration on the part of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, does on his part engage and declare that the fifth article of the Treaty of 1654, in virtue of which certain exemptions from the authority of the Inquisition are exclusively granted to British subjects, shall be considered as null and having no effect in the South American dominions of the Crown of Portugal. And his Britannic Majesty consents that this abrogation of the fifth article of the Treaty of 1654, shall also extend to Portugal upon the abolition of the Inquisition in that country, by the command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and generally to all other parts of his Royal Highness's dominions where he may hereafter abolish that tribunal.

(To be continued.)